1: Lhote--74b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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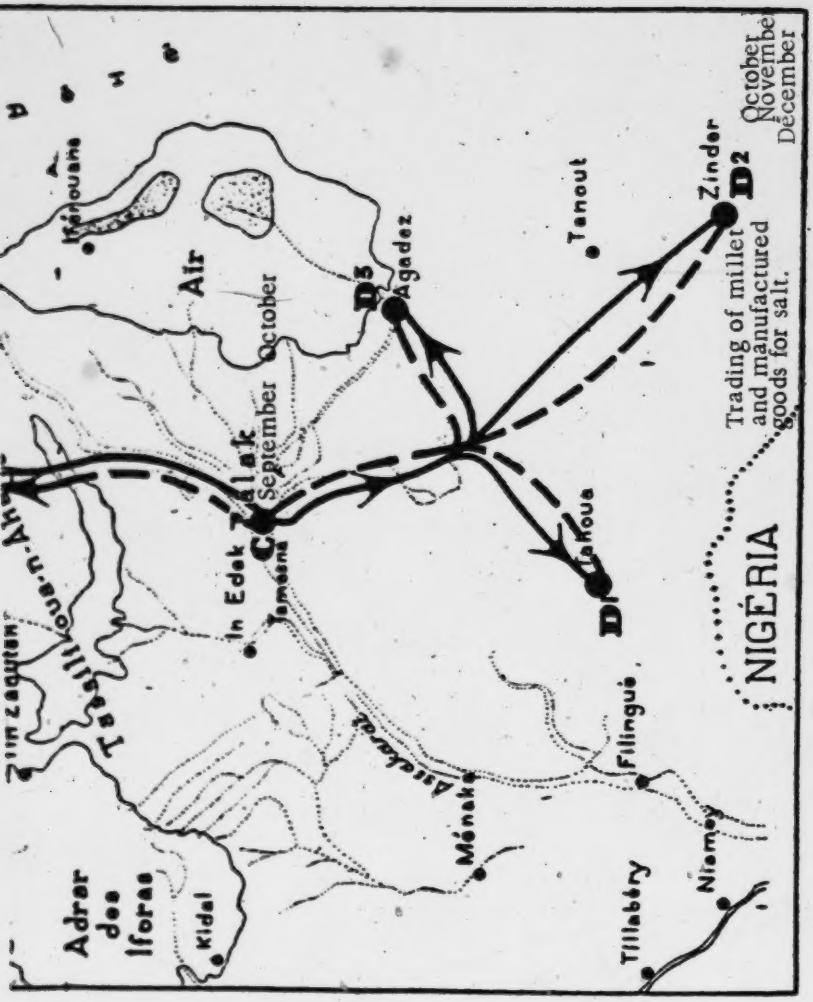

E. Center of trade of manufactured goods and dried meat for dates after return from A.

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

	1911	1938	
Tamanrasset	150	686	
Abalessa	272	250	
I-n-Amgel	180	206	
Iglen		168	
Ideles	70	160	
Tazerouk	150	148	
Tit	75	98	had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938.
Tarhaouhaout	140	91	
Amsel	90	66	
Tahifet		39	
Tigeneouin	25	23	
Mertoutek		60	
Hirhafok		80	
Ilaman	10		

	1911	1938
T-i-n-Ămenser	36	temporarily abandoned
Tifert	50	" "
Essélésékin	30	
T-i-n-Târâbin	15	abandoned

These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one-fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aïtoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

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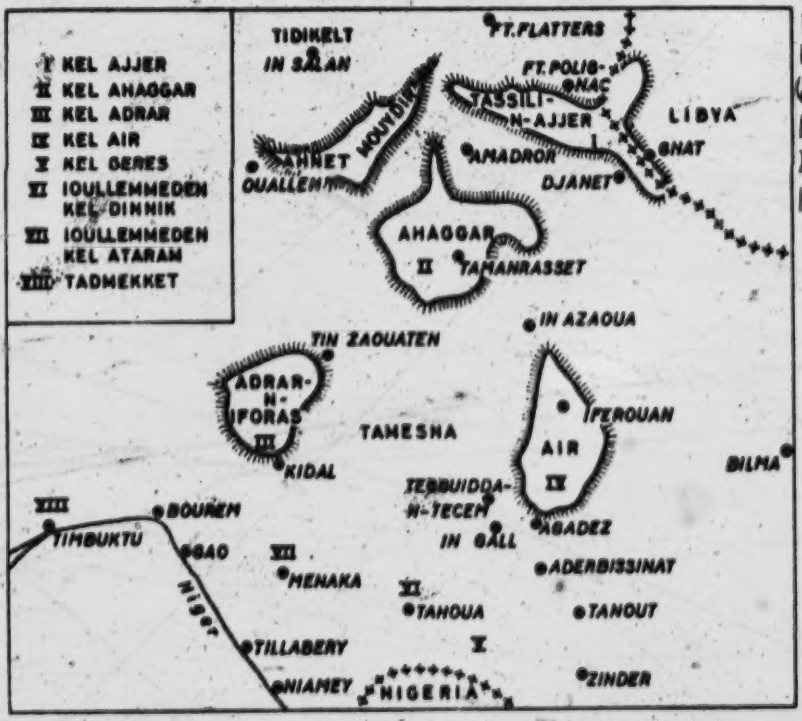

Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. Three groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 500 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

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5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tayahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wells *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edaheus)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

133 /18 cont./ increases, for /19/ the tributary basins converge and form an immense flat plain called aciaf by the Tuareg.

Seen from afar the tassilis appear to be impassable barriers whose tops, eaten by water erosion and battered by wind, give the illusion of a fortified city. Eroding wadis have cut through these sandstone plateaus, and their deep valleys with vertical sides constitute savage gorges at the bottom of which a relatively dense vegetation contrasts with the aridity of the plateau, which is wholly bare and raked by the winds. Numerous gueltas, often fringed with tahlis (a kind of reed), are found in these tassilis.

[103] Note. -- A few altitudes:

Tahat	3, 003 meters	In the Atakor
Ilaman	2, 823 "	" " "
In-Tarain	2, 762 "	" " "
Asekrem	2, 804 "	" " "
Tozat	2, 400 "	" " "
Akarakar	2, 216 "	" " "
In-Afilal	2, 157 "	" " "
Garet el Djenoun	2, 327 "	In the Tefedest
Ifetessen	1, 680 "	In the Mouydir

The Climate

132 Meteorological observations are regularly made only at Tamanrasset and only since 1929. There is a lack, therefore, of exact data for the whole territory. If it is known from Tuareg reports that it has rained in a certain place, the intensity of the precipitation is not known. The information concerning the winds and temperatures is still more vague. However, by taking into account the observations made at Tamanrasset and by examining the vegetation at different places in the Ahaggar annex, as well as the distribution of the fauna, one can distinguish three climatic zones, which correspond almost exactly

/167/ Remarks on the Rainfall

132 M. Dubief of the Algiers Institut de physique du globe has made a very interesting study of the rainfall in the Ahaggar territory, using information furnished by the Tuareg and covering 80 years for the central Ahaggar and 60 years for the Ahnet and the Mouydir.

This research shows that the system of rains in the central Ahaggar is unrelated to that of the northern Sahara.

Moreover, the distribution of the rains in the central Ahaggar has some relation to the distribution in the Tefedest, little to that of the Mouydir, and none to that of the Ahnet; it is completely independent of the Tamesna.

Finally, the dry periods do not seem to exceed seven years (the term "dry" is not used here in its meteorological sense, but relatively speaking, indicating for the nomads a lack of pastures).

Some Tuareg claim to have observed a cycle of seven years in the duration of the ground-water level.

The observations made at Tamanrasset record as years of heavy precipitation: 1924, 1933, 1943, and 1951, which would give a cycle of about nine years.

/169/ IV

Wells or Water Points on the Caravan Trails

From Tamanrasset to Tin-Zaouaten

103 Amsel: Tiggert /natural outflow of water/ and tanout
312 /well for irrigating gardens/. Permanent agricultural center.

Tin-Tounatine: Tigget /sic/ and abankor /water hole/ in the Tamanrasset wadi.

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/169 cont./ Amselka: Permanent well in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tinef: Permanent, plentifully filled well, 1.20 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Abalesse: Permanent abankor, 0.50 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tidjenaouine: Agricultural center in the Tamanrasset wadi.

In-Amelloutine: Plentifully filled abankor, 0.60 meters deep, in the Tamanrasset wadi.

Timdjaouine: Ten kilometers south of the Tamanrasset wadi, Mount Debla, fairly plentiful water, ten meters deep.

Abankor ouan Mellouline: In the Immazarène Tin-Reroh wadi, east of the tassili. Not very plentiful.

Tin-Reroh: In the tassili, plentiful, permanent, 40 kilometers from the automobile road.

In el Tobol: In the Adrar in el Tobol, not very plentiful, 15 kilometers from the automobile road.

In-Tedeini: Six kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten, permanent, ten meters deep, shored up with gasoline drums, three kilometers from the automobile road.

/170/ Tin-Elhaoua: In the Tin-Elhaoua wadi, ten kilometers north of Tin-Zaouaten. Lined shaft, with stone drain, never dry.

Tin-Zaouaten: Three wells, a temporary guelta /natural pool/.

From Tamanrasset in the direction of Tessalit (Sudan)

Up to Silet, various agricultural centers.

Timissao: Well in the wadi, north of the tassili, shored up with stones. Very plentiful water, nevery dar. Depth: six meters.

Tamada: Temporary guelta, rarely dry, east of the tassili, surface about five meters square; very deep.

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/170 cont./ In-Azaoua: Southwest edge of the tassili. Well, 1.50 meters, never dry.

Tiggueurt: Copious spring, in a tassili valley, three hours' march southeast of In-Azaoua, two hours to the west of Tamada. Site unusual because of verdure.

Aguelman de l'oued En-Nefis: Temporary guelta two hours' march from In-Azaoua.

Ameg: Permanent guelta in an outlier of the tassili, south of Tirek, at the head of the In-Allarène wadi.

Tirek: Permanent guelta, plentiful water, in the northern part of the Tirek ta Settefet tassili.

In-Ouzzal: In the In-Ouzzal wadi, near the confluence of the Ighelian wadi. Plentiful. Depth: eight meters.

In-Djezzal: Plentifully filled well, never dry, 23 meters deep.

Timiaouine: Permanent lined well, never dry, eight meters deep.

From the Adrar des Iforas (Timiaouine) toward the Tidikelt

The wells of Ilafok and Guernen are filled in; in winter the caravans go straight to In-Ziza, in summer they pass by Timissao.

In-Ziza: Very large guelta, about 20 meters square, varying from five to ten meters in depth, never dry. There are 17 others.

/171/ Aït el Kra: Very copious tiggert in the tassili sandstone near Foum-Ezgag.

Tin-Senasset: Fairly copious spring.

Tin-Eddi: Poorly filled well, sometimes dry.

Tin-Akhenfous: Permanent well.

Tikebetatine: Four or five springs, fairly copious flow.

In-Rhellal: Poorly filled well, 150 kilometers from the first wells of the Tidikelt.

/171 cont./ From Tamanrasset toward In-Salah

•103
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By the automobile road:
Outoul: Agricultural center.
Tit: Agricultural center.
Tilok: Well.
In-Amguel: Agricultural center.
Iniker: Plentifully filled well.
Tesnou: Plentifully filled well.
Amsir: Well.
Meniet: Well.
Arak: Tiggert and guelta.
Tadjmout: Agricultural center, spring.
In-Takoula: Well.
Tiguelguemine: Guelta.
Djoraf: Hot spring.
Hassi el Khenig: Brackish water.

By the camel trail, west of the automobile road.
From Tamanrasset to Abalessa: Various agricultural centers.
Tin-Felki: Large well, never dry, in the Tekouiat wadi.
Tinn-Maroka: Very plentifully filled well in the Afesfes wadi.
Amsir or Arak.
Hassi Takoumbaret: Permanent.
Hassi Belrem: Plentiful, last well before the Tidikelt.

/172/ List of Selected Wadis

Atakor region:
Northern slope, whose waters are collected by the In-Amguel wadi, which flows toward the Tekouiat and which loses itself in the Tanezrouft to the south of In-Zize.

/172 cont./

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Issakarassène wadi
Hirafok wadi
Ifrak wadi
Tidjilgaouine wadi
Abdassène wadi
Zerzoua wadi
In-Tehoulli wadi
} toward the In-Amguel wadi

Southern slope, whose waters are drained by the great Zazir and Tin-Amzi wadis, which flow toward the valley of the Azaouak.

Tefougigine wadi
Ihérane wadi
Izerzi wadi
Ihoular wadi
Taguiemoute wadi
In-Tarkit wadi
} toward the Tin-Amzi wadi

Teredjine wadi
Effeg wadi
Anfeg wadi
Tihararte wadi
Ahahabarougue wadi
Téguerine wadi
} toward the Zazir wadi

In-Dalag wadi
Tahifet wadi
Tarahouaout wadi
Foutès wadi
} toward Irharraar (southern)

Eastern slope, whose waters flow toward the Tin-Tarabin /173/ wadi, which itself joins the valley of the Azaouak.

Itakaline wadi
Azrou wadi
Tifé́réfine wadi
Tilékine wadi
Sersouf wadi (of Aïtoklane)
} toward Tin-Tarabin

/173 cont./

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Afrahounine wadi
Tibelarhlarhène wadi } toward Tin-Tarabin
Tigoulgouline wadi
Telhouat wadi } toward Igharghar (northern)

Western slope, all the waters of which join the Tamanrasset wadi, either directly or by its large affluent, the Amded wadi.

Tilok wadi
Ilaman wadi
Terhenanet wadi
Outoul wadi
Tit wadi
Selbourak wadi
Tiffert wadi
Abalessa wadi
} toward the Amded wadi

Tisatine ouan Tiratine wadi
Tinef wadi (which drains the waters of the Tahelra)
Imezzarene ouan Tin-Reroh wadi
Silet wadi
Aguelman wadi
} toward the Tamanrasset wadi

Region north of the Adrar des Iforas and of the southern tassili

Slope of the Tamanrasset wadi:

Inouzzal wadi
Ilafer wadi
/174/ Ilafok wadi
In-Kadiouène wadi
Temesguidda wadi
Tirek wadi
Iller wadi

Slope of the Azaouak:

Tin-Zaouaten wadi
In-Atankarer wadi

/174 cont./

103 Anesbaraka wadi
312 Slope of the Timersoï wadi:
Izedelazen wadi

Region of the Tefedest:

Western slope of the Tefedest: the waters flow toward the Tekouiat wadi.

Ohet wadi
In-Takoufi wadi
Idjioualène wadi
Sersouf wadi
Mertoutek wadi
Abezzou wadi
Adenek wadi
In-Ebeggi wadi

Eastern slope of the Tefedest: all of the waters empty into the great Igharghar.

Taharakit wadi
Idelès wadi
Dehine wadi
Aguelmam wadi
Ousselatine wadi
In-Berhadjane wadi
Tin-Kerkoz wadi
Amrha wadi
Ahatès wadi
} toward Igharghar

/175/ Southern slope of the Tefedest:

Takormiasse wadi
Aethès wadi
Tin-Eleft wadi
} toward the In-Amguel wadi

Region of the Immidir and the Ahnet:

The waters flow chiefly toward the north, losing themselves in the sebkha of the Tidikelt; they are mainly drained by the Botha and Djaret wadis.

/175 cont./

103
312 Arak wadi
Gourdane wadi
Tadjmout wadi
Tiratimine wadi
Tibratine wadi
Takoula wadi
Takoumbaret wadi
Asabaï wadi

Amguid region, slope of the Igharghar:
et Tarara wadi
Hesses wadi
Rharis wadi
El Mahek wadi
Teghert wadi
Hamsa wadi
In-Herreki wadi

Region east of the Serkout massif:

This part of the Ahaggar is very little known; the wadis are tributaries of the Tafassasset wadi.

/177/ V

Flora

137 824 Tamahaq Name	Arabic Name	Miscellaneous Observations
Ahtès		Acacia albida. Rare.
Aliou		Olea laperrini. In the high mountains.
Adjiar	El Iatim	Argan tree (?). Hardwood, pasturage for camels, edible berries.

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

List of Agricultural Centers

•103 361 621 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).

This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa.

Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Taïtok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

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/185 cont./ Approximately 300 palms grow freely or nearly so; almost all have grown from nuts, and half are dokkar (males)

Abalessa has a bordj /a small fort or solidly constructed house/ and an infirmary.

The tumulus of Tin-Hinan is located two kilometers from the bordj in the Tiffert wadi.

Centers of the Tiffert wadi.

Tounin Akourin.

A small center seven kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Two foggara and a tanout.

/186/ The amenokal has his permanent camp near gardens that he owns.

Tiffert Foulani.

Five kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. There are about 30 palms. An active center, it is owned by the local harratin. Here is the residence of Si Ahmed Foulani, a well-known taleb /scribe/, who plays the role of cadi for the Tuareg.

Tiffert Tahtani.

Three kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. Active and permanent center. Small village constructed of toub, overlooking some 40 palms.

Tin-Tazarouk.

One kilometer from Abalessa on the trail to Silet. One foggara. Zériba. Large quantity of diss (a large grass).

Centers of the Outoul wadi.

Outoul.

A long-abandoned center which is being revived; located between the old and new trails to In-Salah, 20 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Five foggara, two of them upstream. Several fruit trees.

Tahart.

Eighteen kilometers downstream from Outoul. Three foggara and one tanout. Owners: Taïtok and Tédjéhé n'Néfi.

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/186 cont./ About 100 palms, numerous fig trees and vines. A tiggert with abundant tahli. Very picturesque site.

Assileskine (altitude: 960 meters).

Center located six kilometers downstream from Tahart. Often abandoned. Owners: Ta'ltok. Three foggara, about 30 residents. Vines and several young palms. Rock drawings near the zéribas.

Ennedid (altitude: 914 meters).

Four kilometers downstream from Assileskine in a gorge at the confluence of the Outoul wadi. About 60 residents, nearly 100 palsm. Owners: Kel Rela, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit. Very pretty site.

/187/ Centers of the Tit wadi.

Tit (altitude: 1, 127 meters).

Located in the Tit wadi, 50 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Fairly important center, more than 100 residents, houses of toub and zeribas. About 30 palms, numerous fig trees, and enormous vines. At this time, four foggara. Very important site for rock drawings.

Tin-Emensar.

Ten kilometers downstream from Tit. Abandoned center.

Dar Mouli.

Three kilometers downstream from Tin-Emensar, a small garden is cultivated. Site of an annual celebration where the Tuareg gather for the ziara of Moulay Abderrahmane.

Centers of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tamanrasset (altitude: 1, 470 meters).

Fort Laperrine, administrative headquarters of the Ahaggar.

The military bordj was constructed in 1919 and used in 1920 after the abandoning of Tarahouaout.

In 1920, Tamanrasset had 40 residents. It was a small, unimportant center with three foggara; a few rare éthel and fersig lined the wadi.

103 361 621 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing the built-up area which became a road center after the creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Illamane peak (tourist);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the [491] Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
361 in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
621 village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2, 000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
361 water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
621 other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

103
361
621
648

/189 cont./ A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

163 /190 cont./ mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
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Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambaït

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

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/191 cont. / Centers located on the In-Azaoua road

Izerzi

Fifteen kilometers south of Tamanrasset in the Izerzi wadi. A long-abandoned center revived in 1952.

Talan Téhédit

A long-abandoned center 20 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Cultivated since 1951. Abundant water. Tiggert, tahli. Garden owners: Adjouh n'Téhéle and Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Three foggara and two tanout. Possibility for growth.

Ifok

Thirty kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Running water, tiggert, tahli. The gardens are upstream and downstream from the tiggert. Two foggara and three tanout. A frequently abandoned center.

Region of the Atakor

Ilaman (altitude: 2, 000 meters).

Highest center in the Ahaggar. Abandoned for a long time, traces of nine former foggara.

At the present time the village of Ilaman has a dozen residents. One foggara and two tanout are in operation. The Dag Rali own the gardens; their millet silos give the village a curious appearance.

Terhénanet (altitude: 1, 950 meters)

Located in the Terhénanet wadi on the edge of the Taessa massif. /192/ Like the village of Ilaman the village of Terhenanet is at the side of the road leading to the Asekrem. A small guelta is found downstream from the gardens. An unimportant center: about ten residents, two living foggara, four dead ones.

Centers of the southeastern Atakor

Tarahouaout (altitude: 1, 317 meters) -- (Fort Motylinski)

Located in the Tarahouaout wadi 80 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the automobile road. It was the administrative

103 361 621

/192 cont./ capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1,450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahélégheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

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/193 cont./ Centers of the northern Atakor

Ideles

Very important center in the Tarouda wadi, overlooked by the Adrar Taderaz. The village is located on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Djanet 265 kilometers from Tamanrasset. The village consists of a bordj and an infirmary, as well as numerous stone houses. The residents, who number about 300, were originally from the Tidikelt. The ruins of an old ksar may be seen.

The gardens belong to the Kel Rela, the Dag Rali, the Kel Tazolé, and the Kel Amguid. The cultivable area amounts to about 40 hectares, irrigated by eight foggara and about ten tanout. About 300 palm trees are fairly well cared for; there are also numerous fig trees and vines.

Amenselane

Very small center six kilometers from Ideles. One foggara. Numerous tahli near the tiggert.

Tazerouk

A center which used to be very important but whose cultivable land is often carried off in pieces during big floods. Located 188 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the Ideles automobile road. The population is made up of freed Negroes who own the gardens but whose laziness has jeopardized this favored oasis. The altitude is 1, 896 meters; two wheat harvests per year are possible. The cultivable area amounts to 45 hectares, with hardly half of it sown. Enormous, untended fig trees grow, /194/ as well as very many peach trees and apricot trees. The summer climate at Tazerouk is the most pleasant in the Ahaggar.

In the wadis which end at Tazerouk, agricultural centers are established during the rainy years; these are: Sellemal, Ihebert, Teberbert, Taouakim, Tin-Ezzar.

Tizzeit

Unimportant center, long abandoned, now cultivated, located on the camel trail from Ideles to Tazerouk. Land

103 361 621 /194 cont./ belongs to the Ibardjien, an ancient tribe on the way to extinction, redoubtable mountaineers and clever hunters of wild sheep. Alkaline spring, tanout. Vines, fig trees, and numerous palms.

Tin-Founès

Abandoned center located on the Amadror road; numerous untended palms.

Hirafok (altitude: 1, 510 meters)

Located in the Hirafok wadi, on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Ideles. The gardens run lengthwise and are well tended. Twenty-four hectares of cultivable land irrigated by five foggara and five tanout. A few fig trees. A bordj is constructed by the side of the road. The wadi valley is fairly well wooded; there is a tiggert downstream.

Im-Amguel (altitude: 1, 037 meters)

Large agricultural center located in the In-Amguel wadi on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah, 144 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A bordj and an infirmary. Four hundred residents. Ten foggara water well-tended gardens. There are some 100 palm trees, half of which are dokkar. Vines, fig trees, apricot trees, peach trees. Poultry.

Ifrok

Upstream from In-Amguel on the automobile road from Ideles. A center long abandoned, now cultivated. One foggara. The wadi is very well wooded.

Tasakimt

An abandoned center located between Ideles and Tazerouk. One tiggert upstream from which existed a foggara and four /195/ tanout. Abundant vegetation consisting of fersig and oleander.

Centers of the Tefedest

Mertoutek

A center in decline. There now exist two living foggara compared to ten before. Altitude: 1, 450 meters. Located in

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/195 cont./ the Mertoutek wadi, to the east of the Tefedest, 260 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A few fruit trees. Important rock-drawing sites (Coche-Chasseloup-Laubat, Lelubre and M. Cousin sites).

In-Amertek

Abandoned center downstream from Mertoutek.

Ohet

Abandoned center to the northwest of the Tefedest. Two dead foggara. Land belonging to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

Adenek

Abandoned center in the Adenek wadi at the confluence of the Dehine wadi. Land belonging to the Kel Tefedest. There still remain a few fig trees and vines.

Abezzou

Abandoned center, land belonging to the Kel In-Rhar and Eouen n'Hada. Only a few zéribas and traces of guemoun are evidence of former cultivation.

Dehine

Center located six kilometers north of Mertoutek. Abandoned. There remain a few palms and fig trees as reminders of a former prosperity.

Other agricultural centers

Silet (altitude: 775 meters)

Located 151 kilometers from Tamanrasset on the road to Tin-Zaouaten. The Silet wadi forms a large basin which receives the waters of the Tahelra. There is a very shallow water table, which makes it possible for palms to grow without irrigation. There are about 6, 000 palms which receive practically /196/ no care. Artificial fecundation is rarely practiced. This palm grove was created about 200 years ago by Arabs from the Tidikelt. The owners of the palms are some Kel Rela, Iklan Taoussit, and Dag Rali. An attempt to establish a palm grove has been made by the Annex with djebars of Téguezza.

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/196 cont./ Some ten residents live at Silet and cultivate small gardens irrigated by three foggara. A bordj. Ruins of an old Arab fort. Numerous pre-Islamic tombs.

Tibeghim

Five kilometers from Silet. Small palm grove in a semi-wild state, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The palms belong to the Kel Rela and the Iklan Taoussit.

Aïtoklane

Center located in the Sersouf wadi 40 kilometers south of Tazerouk. Long abandoned, now cultivated. Far from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. The cultivable area is great.

Tin-Tarabin

In the Tin-Tarabin wadi, away from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. Abandoned, then revived a short time ago. This center could prosper, for the cultivable area is large.

Tadjmout

Located on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah in the intra-tassili depression of the Mouydir tassili. A few gardens belonging to the Kel Immidir. Palm trees (about 100 grow freely in the gorge one kilometer from the road).

Izghan -- Izeghaf -- Djoraf

Abaondoned centers in the interior of the tassili massif. Numerous palms belonging to the Kel Immidir and the Kel Ahnet. These sites are never visited and remain unknown to all.

Tin-Teredjine

Upstream in the Teredjine wadi (In-Guezzam road). Tiggert, abundant water, abandoned garden. Tomatoes /197/ grow without being cared for. An Adjouh n'Téhélé family gathers them from time to time.

Inroudiden

In the Tahelra massif (south of Tiffert), in the Inozzorou wadi, a tributary of the Tinef. Owners: Iklan Taoussit. Unimportant.

Isernan and Sédéouen

During rainy years, gardens are established upstream from the tiggert in these two wadis, tributaries of the In-Dalag wadi.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

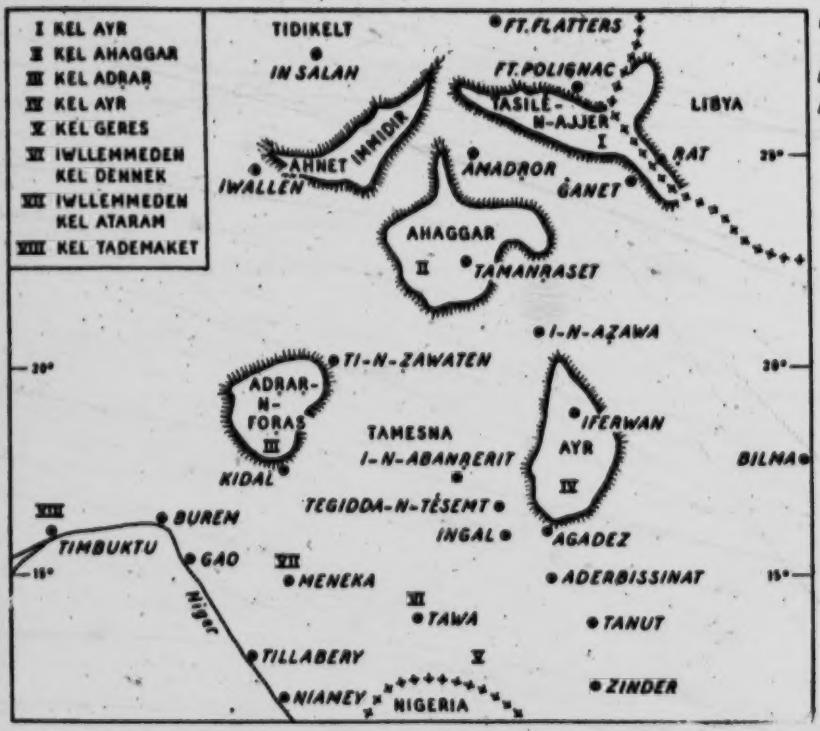

Fig. 1. Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups, as mentioned in the text, are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. The *Kel Tademaket* Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Iwillemmeden *Kel Ataram* (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 125 kilometres.

known and used particularly by women. There are slight distinctions in the characters of the alphabet used by various Tuareg groups. I here reproduce the characters generally used in Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and in Ayr. In transcribing *tifinar* into the Roman alphabet I have on the whole adopted the system used by Foucauld who has made the most profound studies of the northern dialect (Foucauld 1918-20, 1920, 1925-30, 1940, 1951-52), but certain alterations have been made in agreement with the proposal of K.-G. Prasse. The Ayr dialect is very badly known. Its grammar and its peculiar vocabulary has never been studied.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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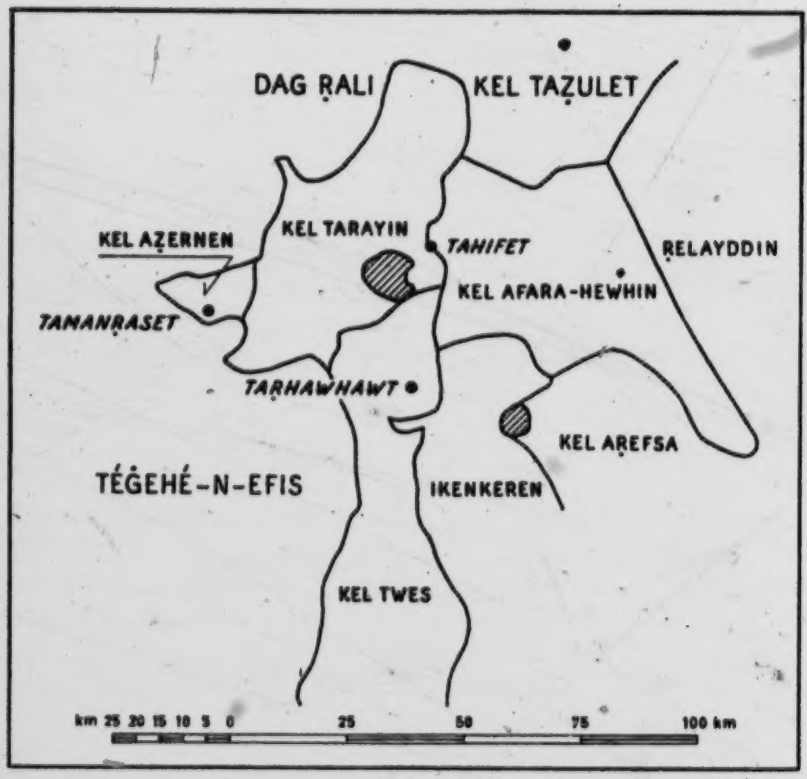

Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téġehé-n-Éfis* tribe where two sections of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Ṛali* and the *Kel Taẓulet* tribes. The *Kel Aẓernen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Ṛali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamaïyaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Ṛelayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aġuh-en-tehlé*. The *Aġuh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abada* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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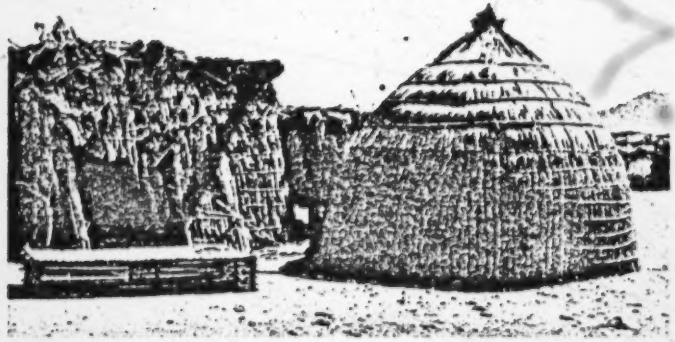

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Fig. 257. A square *tdjira* hut (left) and a beehive hut of the *taiṛamt* type (right). To the left is also seen a bed of palm fronds lashed together with hide. These beds are used by sedentary agriculturists. Ayr, Awderas.

palm leaves. The upper part of the hut is generally covered with palm leaves kept together by means of outer circular rods, but, before the roof is laid on, a small plaited mat attached to a wooden frame and known as *tégelengelt* (pl. *tigelengelin*) is placed over the top of the structure as a protection against rain. Seen from the outside beehive huts of this type bear a resemblance to cylindrical huts with conical roofs. Beehive huts of the structure just described vary much in size. A normal hut is about 1.75–2.00 metres high with a diameter of about 2.50–3.00 metres.

Beehive huts possibly different from those mentioned above are described by Rodd. They are said to have a frame made of palm-frond ribs planted in the ground and tied together at the top, and according to illustrations they are covered exclusively with straw. Rodd's illustrations of beehive huts are taken from the villages of Towar and Timia (Rodd 1926a, p. 184, pl. 20). Huts akin to those mentioned by Rodd have also been depicted by Buchanan (Buchanan 1926, p. 140).

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Beehive huts are extremely common in Southern Tuareg countries and adjacent regions. In Ayr I have seen beehive huts of the *taiṛamt* type in all villages visited from Iferwan to Agadez, and they also occur in Damergu together with cylindrical huts with conical roofs. I have not seen beehive huts at Zinder, but they are found among the sedentary Hausa of the Birni – N'Koni region – according to the excellent exhibition of the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Hausa beehive huts differ as to construction. Some huts have a cylindrical wall built of mud and supporting the roof, which may also be plastered with mud at the inner side, while other huts have a cylindrical mud wall inside the lower part of the structure and a pronged central post to support the roof. There are also very simple beehive huts which serve for sleeping huts; they are sometimes placed upon high platforms where mosquitoes are less embarrassing. Beehive huts are extremely common along the Niger where I have seen them

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

these regions and are now extremely rich in stock, though they are said to have had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr for the southlands in the 18th century.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg who probably came to Ayr in the 14th century took up grazing grounds in Central and Eastern Ayr. There were originally seven tribes of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, and five of these still exist. Like the *Itésen* and most other Tuareg, these tribes claim descent from a common ancestress. But the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg have largely mixed with the negroid village population which is also now known as *Kel Ewey*, and there are very few fair-skinned pastoralists among them nowadays. Barth mentions that the true *Kel Ewey* tribes are related to the very powerful tribe of *Uraren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372).

As to the origin of the noble nuclei of the two important drum-groups of *Kel Ferwan* and *Kel Faday*, the date of their arrival is most difficult to determine. The name of the *Kel Ferwan* is derived from the village of Iferwan in the north (*Kel Ferwan* = "the people of Iferwan") but they were nevertheless true nomads who originally lived in Northern Ayr. Urvoy thinks that they came to Ayr at the same time as the *Kel Ewey* or somewhat later, and that they lived in Northern Ayr around Iferwan until the 17th century when they moved southwards to the region of Agadez. But this statement is not in agreement with traditions I have collected in Ayr. It is perhaps not to be taken very seriously that all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they came to Ayr before other Tuareg groups, but the present Sultan *Umar* of Agadez says that all Tuareg groups now living in Ayr had arrived in the country when the sultanry was established in the year 1405 A.D., at which time the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg lived at Tafadek north of Agadez. There are different traditions about the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. One mentioned by Urvoy claims Egypt as their homeland; this probably implies immigration from or via the Fezzan (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). Barth says they are related to the *Uraren* (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 385). According to my own investigations they came from a country situated towards the east or northeast, or from Awjila, but there are also many Tuareg of this group who claim that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg originally lived in Ahaggar as close kinsmen to the dominating *Kel Rela* tribe of that region. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will even go so far as to hold that even after their arrival in Ayr they continued to intermarry with the *Kel Rela* of Ahaggar. According to Nicolas their ancestress is named *Tadawelt* (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474), while I have been told her name was *Sabenas*.

As to the origin of the *Kel Faday*, their name is derived from a mountainous part of Northern Ayr. According to Urvoy they migrated southwards towards the south-west to the region of Ingal, where they took up grazing grounds at the end of the 18th century (Urvoy 1936, p. 150). The *Kel Faday* Tuareg are said to be related to the *Taytoḳ* of Ahaggar (Duveyrier 1864, p. 322; Urvoy 1936, p. 150; Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Barth however is of the opinion that they came from different regions but in particular from Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 384).

Among the latest Tuareg immigrants are to be mentioned the *Kel Tamat* who came possibly three or four centuries ago. Urvoy mentions Ahaggar as their homeland (Urvoy 1936, p. 150), while Nicolas says they are related to the *Uraren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471). Even later came the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg who in Ayr attached themselves to the *Kel Tamat*. According to Urvoy they came from Ahaggar (Urvoy 1936, p. 151), according to Nicolas they descend partly from the *Taytoḳ* of Ahaggar, partly from the *Imanṛasaten* and the *Uraren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 472). Tuareg of the *Ikezkezen* told me that they are related to the *Uraren*.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office.

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggedezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan.

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164).

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izyan* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to

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